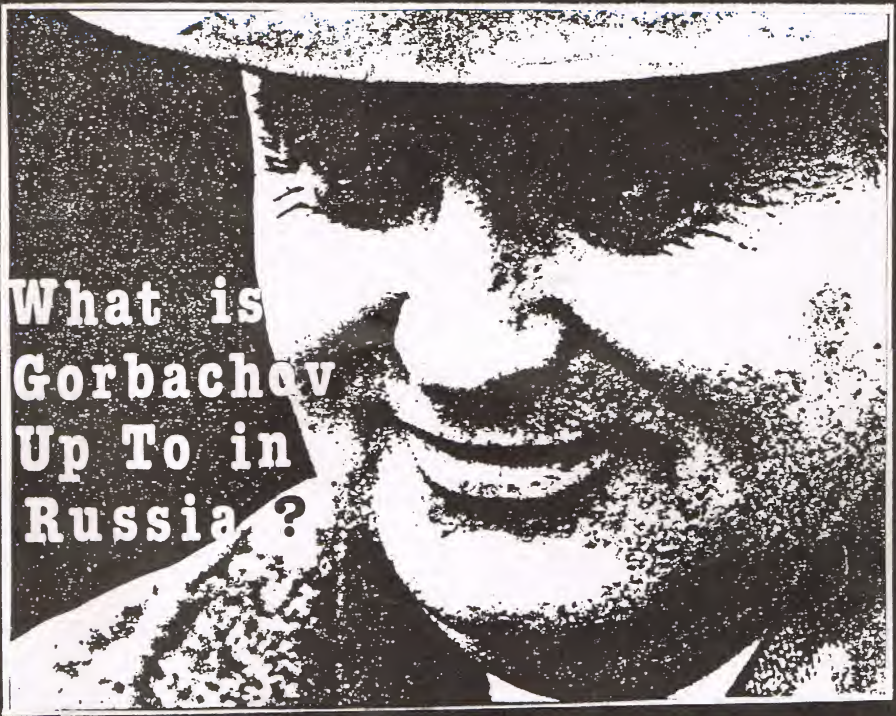


Communist
Bulletin

No. 12

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Gorbachov
Up To in
Russia?

* **Welcome Back Maggie-say Workers?**

* **BARBIE~** Just Another Capitalist Humanitarian.

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NO CHANGE IN THE BOSSES LINEUP

After a particularly nauseating General Election campaign it is time to reflect on what the return of Thatcher and Co. for a third term bodes for the class struggle in Britain.

Unlike the myriad leftist groups we are not shedding any tears for the defeat of the Labour Party. The Labour party is not a workers' party and indeed never has been; on the contrary, it is a crucial weapon in the arsenal of British capitalism. In the second half of the Twentieth century the communist position on parliament and parliamentarism is absolutely ABC with no room for equivocation: an unambiguous denunciation of the whole charade, a refusal to participate in any way and on any basis, and a call on the working class to boycott the polling booths and take up their own struggle. This is what our own organisation attempted to argue in the distribution of the leaflet reproduced elsewhere in this issue, aimed specifically at those workers seeking to fight back but being enveigled into the election charade.

Whoever won the election the mechanisms of the state would have remained unchanged. The permanent organs - civil service, police, army - run the state, hand in hand with the elements traditionally identified as the bourgeoisie: the City and industrialists. The parliamentary executive has ideological baggage to carry, baggage reflecting both its own bourgeois perspective and the state of the class struggle in the country, but fundamentally it serves the consensus interests of those elements it works with. Parliament is a wholly capitalist stage; any attempt by workers to enter it serves only to legitimise it. Workers' democracy differs from capitalist democracy absolutely. Capitalist democracy robs workers of their one strength, their collectivity, by isolating them individually in the polling booth and dishing up a surrealist caricature of representation. Compare this with workers' democracy expressed in every major class struggle since the Paris Commune; real representation, mandated collectively, directly revocable, directly responsible to workers mass assemblies.

Whoever won the election the needs of British Capitalism remain the same: the imposition of austerity. Reviewing the 1983 election in Bulletin Four we said:

"more and more the ONLY policies open to ANY government is a full scale austerity programme and a direct attack on the living standards of workers."

To back this up we demonstrated how the attacks of the "socialist" Mitterand in France mirrored those of Thatcher. Four years on the deepening economic crisis demands still deeper austerity and all capitalist factions are jockeying to carry it out - be it 'right wing' Thatcher embarking on her third term of government in Britain or 'left wing' Hawke about to do the same in Australia.

Thatcher remained in power, with a majority of over 100 seats, because of (1) her success in smashing strikes (notably that of the miners in 1984/85)

(2) her successful division of the working class through economic policy and (3) a whole string of highly successful, if largely short term and cosmetic, ideological campaigns.

British government in the Seventies made the mistake of imposing austerity on a broad front and as a consequence provoked a class-wide, albeit union dominated, response. Since coming to power in 1979 the Thatcher regime has sought to eliminate industrial disruption by a cold blooded policy of divide and rule, slicing the working class into the three categories we enumerated in our analysis of the Miners strike in Bulletin Eight:

"a core of full-time workers; a second group chasing after poorly paid part-time and temporary jobs; and a third group who are consigned to permanent unemployment."

It is the third category that have been the true sufferers during the first eight years of Thatcherism. In Bulletin Nine we tabulated the avalanche of Benefit cuts prepared and in this issue we examine their continuation and the State's offensive on the housing of the poorest sections of the population.



On the Edge of the Abyss.

The bosses have striven to create a mood of dampened expectations, despair and apathy among those hardest hit by their fast decaying system. This strategy has been largely successful, but as this despair has periodically exploded into inner-city riots the state has radically strengthened its repressive arm. The speed at which the state has thrown off the disguise of its police, (the disguise which portrayed them as guardians of the peace), to have them stand quite openly as the symbols of naked force they always have been in essence has been one of the clearest indications of capitalist decomposition.

The election result demonstrated that many workers in full-time employment feel that they have 'never had it so good' (though this trend is obviously marked by strong regional variation - as is discussed in the article following this one). At first glance a bizarre development in an economy

inclining towards the abyss, but on closer inspection a clever piece of social manipulation by the state. The rise in the disposable income takes no account of the decline in the social wage (health, education, local government services etc.) nor the steep rise in rates of exploitation, but remains a palpable fact. Oil revenues and the sale of State assets have given the Tories the economic flexibility to maintain, even raise the living standards of a section of the working class. The concept of a "property owning, share owning democracy" is dear to the modern Conservative Party, and by such measures as the sale of council houses and shares in denationalized industries this government has sought to permanently win to the side of capitalism a chunk of the proletariat.

In the face of these developments it is important that revolutionaries don't become overwhelmed by this ideological barrage; don't abandon hard-won theoretical gains (such as the universal tendency towards state capitalism in the Twentieth Century) nor reintroduce out-dated concepts such as the "Labour Aristocracy". Six points can be made about the purpose and consequences of privatization:

1. The generation of sorely needed liquid funds to finance tax cuts, extra "defence" spending etc.
2. Improving the efficiency of management.
3. Workers patently don't identify with state owned industry - persuade them to buy shares in their company and take on a big mortgage and they'll think twice before they go on strike.
4. Privatization provides convenient excuses for "rationalization", i.e. layoffs and speedups.
5. In the longer term privatization enables capitalism to splinter the work force, play one plant against another, confront workers with a soft face of private management while the state keeps its distance.
6. Although it renounces legal ownership, the state retains control of the newly privatized monopolies. Indeed informal state domination of the economy continues to grow - young workers employed on government funded schemes, state subsidies and regional grants etc.

During the election campaign much was made of Britain's economic recovery under Thatcher. Much of this recovery can be ascribed to the ruthless slashing of traditional cornerstones of the economy (steel, coal, Manufacturing industry) abandoning the fiction of an independent British Capital, becoming the loyalist lieutenant of the USA and tailoring production to the overall needs of the bloc. In Europe this appears to be a purely British phenomenon - made possible by the abnormally large contribution of Insurance, financial services etc. and the gift of North Sea Oil.



The Leader and Deputy leader
of the Labour Party during
an Election 'Photo Opportunity'

As the Thatcher government begins its third term the bourgeoisie is supremely confident, but already black clouds are forming on the economic horizon. Economic commentators are already forecasting a serious economic recession in 1988; US inflation is rising and a continuing trade deficit all spell trouble. The fragile and tacky ship that constitutes the British economy is ill-placed to weather the coming storm. The only way out is greater austerity and here the coalition of support that the Tories have built up will begin to melt away. It will no longer be enough to tighten the screws on the poorest sections of the population - bit by bit they will chip away at the mass of workers who have prospered under Thatcherism. Class wide attacks cannot be postponed for long; the imminent VAT rises and Poll Tax are just a taste of things to come.

Lurking in the wings to head of any rising class struggle are the Labour Party and the Unions. Although disappointed that they didn't recover more of the losses of 1983 (who, watching the Labour Party during the election, can doubt that it and the creatures that run it lust for power and the accompanying rich pickings, just like all bourgeois factions?). The Labour Party can take some comfort from the election - they have halted the decline in their support, they have a credible leadership once more and the squabbling Liberal/SDP has missed its opportunity to replace them as the main opposition party. Kinnock and Co. will hope to funnel discontent into a 'responsible' campaign to elect a Labour government in 1991.

The Trade Union movement is still adjusting to the impact of Thatcherism, smarting under a string of rebuffs from a government that is crushing strikes without needing much assistance from them. Here Tory ideology can prove a handicap to the state: the attacks on the Unions by the Tories have included some real attacks on Union power and influence. The Tory executive and many elements within the party, being ideologically blinkered, fail to see the unions as their class allies. For these neanderthals, the unions and the working class really are synonymous, hence recent legislation which seriously weakens union potential to control class struggle. Eventually the state will recognise and defend its class interests, unfettering the unions so that they can attack workers effectively, but for the moment there is a soft spot in their armour.

The period since the defeat of the Miners' strike has been a difficult one for revolutionaries in Britain - several groups have lost members and experienced demoralization. However there are some signs of a growing maturity, a willingness to debate and work together. We must hope this bears fruit.

Rowntree

THE ELECTION DEMONSTRATES DIVISIONS WITHIN THE WORKING CLASS

As revolutionaries we take for granted the farcical nature of bourgeois elections. Every once in a while the working class is given the chance to elect its own executioner although for most of the time the working class has only a spectatorial role; direct participation only happens when a cross is put on the ballot paper. And thus the farce of bourgeois democracy is played out. But we should beware of extending the theatrical metaphor too far. The election process is not wholly scripted from beginning to end. We don't deny that collusion goes on between parties as they carve up areas to be fought in and the subjects to be avoided (see the politics of Northern Ireland for instance). But this does not mean that the result of elections are absolutely determined from the outset. The nature of elections in the liberal democracies precludes such certitude. For a start bourgeois parties do contest for power. In the recent election the Labour Party did want, and tried to beat the Tories. The fact that they thought it highly unlikely is neither here nor there. The same applies to the Alliance, although the summit of their ambition was to hold the balance of power in a hung parliament. This would have given some degree of power and the ability to mould part of government policy. Thus when collusion happens it does so with the intentions of avoiding issues and situations which might be mutually damaging or which threatens the state.

On the other hand the response of the electorate, a large part of which includes the working class, is another variable. The way in which votes are cast is determined by interplay of bourgeois schemes, the material situation of voters and resultant consciousness. This consciousness is manipulated by the bourgeoisie but is open to the 'vagaries' of the electorate which in turn are the product of material and historical circumstances.

We don't suggest that revolutionaries should spend their time analysing every little detail of the electoral process or the results. The bourgeoisie has its own set of ideologues who obscure the class nature of voting by concentrating upon the so-called power of the electorate. We should, however be aware that the way that the working class votes does tell us something of the state of class struggle at a moment in time. Obviously when workers put their cross on the ballot paper they are not acting in a collective fashion. They are individualised and separated from the elemental power which they have in collective action. Consequently, the act of voting has no potential for raising the consciousness of workers. Nonetheless the pattern of voting does give us a 'snapshot' into how bourgeois ideology is affecting the working class and by extension we can relate this to particular aspects of material life. The recent election has hinted at how eight years

of Tory policy has imprinted itself upon sections of the working class.

Unfortunately some revolutionaries seem to be completely unaware of the complicated mechanisms of the electoral farce. Coming to and understanding about the complicated nature of class struggle is not easy but it is essential. The International Communist Current for a long time now has preferred to go for a simplistic, unproblematic and conspiratorial explanation. Yes, once again their tired old nonsense of the "right in power, left in opposition" has appeared. This time its used to explain (not really adequate to describe the ICC's rubbish) the election process. In the June issue of World Revolution it suffices for the ICC to say that

"all parties, at the behest of the state machine are busy ensuring the re-election of the Tories."

Thus, at a stroke, the ICC reduces the election to the simple battle between a unified bourgeoisie working to ensure that the Labour Party remains in opposition and Thatcher stays in power. Total rubbish. We've already dealt with the theoretical inadequacies of their approach (see Bulletin Four), for the present we just want to look at how useful the ICC's approach is for understanding the actual voting patterns.

For example, just how did the bourgeoisie manage to get such regional divisions to occur? How did the 'North - South' split happen? If we are to take the ICC seriously we have to believe that for some

All seats in region				79 marginals				
	Con	Lab	All		Con	Lab	All	
North	-2.4	+7.1	-3.8	.....	+1.2	+5.6	-6.8
North West	-2.0	+5.2	-2.8	.....	-1.5	+1.7	-0.6
Yorks	-1.2	+5.4	-3.9	.....	-0.9	+7.4	-5.4
W. Mids	-0.6	+2.1	-2.5	.....	+2.0	+2.6	-4.3
E. Mid	+1.5	+2.1	-3.1	.....	+3.9	+3.2	-5.9
E Anglia	+1.1	+1.1	-2.5	.....	+1.6	+0.3	-1.5
South West	-0.6	+1.5	-0.5	.....	+2.2	+0.3	-2.1
South East	-1.2	+0.9	-1.8	.....	+3.7	+3.0	-6.6
London	+2.5	+1.5	-3.2	.....	+3.3	+1.0	-3.8
Wales	-1.2	+7.6	-5.7	.....	-1.4	+8.4	-8.1
Scotland	-4.3	+7.3	-5.3	.....	-3.1	+6.2	-7.2
Overall	-0.2	+3.3	-2.9	.....	+0.9	+3.6	-4.8
Regional calculations from Press Association								
Two Conservative exclusion zones								
	Con	Change since 83	Lab	Change since 83	All	Change since 83	SNP	Change since83
Liverpool	17.5	-11.8	56.4	+9.1	25.9	+5.4		
Glasgow	12.6	-6.2	61.9	+10.0	14.9	-6.3	10.2	+2.7

strange reason, the Tories in Scotland, for example decided to put forward a "loony" face and thus lose half its seats; or, alternatively, the "loony" politics of the Labour Party did not scare off the Scottish workers who voted for them. And again, how do we explain the Labour Party sweeping up all the seats in Liverpool, the so-called home of the loony left?

Again, was it a mistake by the state. It's no use the ICC claiming that voting patterns from the Midlands southward validates their theory. If it is to have any analytical strength it must be able to cope with the countrywide patterns. This it demonstrably fails to do.

Was the "North - South" division planned or 'decided in advance' as the ICC would have us believe? Or was it, as Marxism used properly says, a product of particular ideological and material battles. Firstly, let's be clear that the North - South division is not an elaborate lie produced by bourgeois statisticians. Just look at the votes cast in the north and north-west of England, Wales and Scotland. In all these areas there were significant swings towards Labour ranging from 5 - 7%. On the other hand the best that Labour achieved in the areas of the Midlands, the South and London was plus 1%, falling to plus 2% for the Tories. Tories were wiped out in the cities of the North and in Scotland. In these areas workers were voting Labour

	Professional/man managerial			Office/clerical			Skilled manual			Semi-skilled/unskilled manual			Unemployed		
	1987	1983-87	1979-87	1987	1983-87	1979-87	1987	1983-87	1979-87	1987	1983-87	1979-87	1987	1983	1979
Con	59	-3	-8	52	-3	-6	43	-4	-2	31	-4	-1	32	+2	-8
Lab	14	+2	-4	22	+1	+1	34	-1	+11	50	+6	-8	51	+6	+2
Lib/SDP	27	—	+12	26	+2	+6	24	-3	+14	19	-8	+5	17	-9	-6
SWING FROM C to Lab		2%	2		2	3%		-2%	-4%		2	-2		2	5
Lab to Lib/SDP	to			to			to			to			to		
Lab		1	-8		+1%	-2%		1	-12%		7	—		7%	-2
Lib/SDP to C		-1%	-10		-2%	-5		3%	5		-3	-5		5%	-7

whereas significant numbers of workers were, in London and the Midlands, moved towards or stayed with the Tories. Rather than this division being a reflection of a general bourgeois conspiracy it is a sign of a material separation which has affected the working class throughout Britain. Generally the Tory Party has pursued a policy of "deindustrialising" areas of the North, Wales and Scotland. The so-called traditional industries, mining, engineering, steel and shipbuilding have been run-down and tens of thousands thrown out of work. The hand-maiden of these attacks has been increased poverty, misery and collapsing social services. This is the only way that the capitalist crisis can be handled. But this process of immiseration is not uniform. From the Midlands southwards sections of the working class have done relatively well: jobs have been retained, and in some instances standards of living increased. (ie, at individual not social level). Service industries have shown significant growth. The fact that these industries can only exacerbate the crisis is neither here nor there for the workers concerned. They see themselves as secure and doing relatively well, thank you.

	Lives in South			owner-occupier			Non-union			works in private sector			Lives in Scotland/North			Council tenant			Union member			Works in public sector		
	1987	1983-87	1979-87	1987	1983-87	1979-87	1987	1983-87	1979-87	1987	1983-87	1979-87	1987	1983-87	1979-87	1987	1983-87	1979-87	1987	1983-87	1979-87	1987	1983-87	1979-87
Con	46	44	40	38	36	32	29	26	23	20	18	15	18	16	13	14	12	9	10	8	7	6	5	4
Lab	28	32	36	39	41	44	47	49	51	53	55	57	59	61	63	65	67	69	71	73	75	77	79	81
Lib/SDP	26	24	22	23	23	24	24	25	26	27	28	29	29	30	31	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
Con/Lab		Con	Con	Con	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab
may 1987	+18	+12	+2	+1	+32	+17	+32	+17	+32	+17	+32	+17	+32	+17	+32	+17	+32	+17	+32	+17	+32	+17	+32	+17
Con/Lab may 1983		Con	Con	Con	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab
Category		+18	+22	+6	+1	+38	+17	+38	+17	+38	+17	+38	+17	+38	+17	+38	+17	+38	+17	+38	+17	+38	+17	+38
as % of all manual workers (change from 1983 in brackets)		40	57	66	+2	-1	-4	(-7)	-2	(-3)	(-7)	(-7)	(-3)	(-7)	(-7)	(-3)	(-7)	(-7)	(-3)	(-7)	(-7)	(-3)	(-7)	(-7)

	University Educated			Public Sector			Private Sector		
	1987	1983-87	1987	1987	1983-87	1987	1987	1983-87	1987
Con	34	-9	44	-4	65	+1	13	-1	13
Lab	86	+3	24	+4	22	-1	86	+3	86
Lib/SDP	36	+4	32	+4	22	-1	36	+4	36
SWING FROM Con to Lab		6		2		1/2			
Lab to Lib/SDP	to	1/2		-2		1/2			
Lab		-6 1/2		-4		1			
Lib/SDP to Con									

*NOTE: Vote is share of three-party vote

At the same time the appearance of this major economic division, the Tory Party has pursued new ideological policies which have helped reinforce the fragmentation of the working class: selling off council houses and the general strategy of privatisation. The emergence of "peoples capitalism" has had an effect upon the working class. Those who have "done well" over the past few years wish to hold on to what they have. This applies not only to City yuppies but also to sections of the workers. They don't want to see any shares they may hold in Telecom etc being grabbed by the Labour Party; they want to keep their 'council houses'; they look forward to tax cuts and are keen to see "high-spending" Labour councils controlled. Apart from these incentives to vote Tory its almost certainly true that anti-homosexual and anti-black policies played a role in determining how workers voted in London. On the other hand if you live in the declining North, are unemployed and face daily the threat of

poverty, what had the Tories to offer? Obviously nothing. The fact that the Labour Party also had nothing to offer the working class as a class is a separate question. It's rhetoric and the historical legacy of the British working class movement made it appear as a real alternative to conservatism. Thus when workers in the North voted they were responding to material realities.

The North-South division has material underpinnings. We don't say that the fact of different voting patterns means that the working class is mortally weakened. Divisions can be overcome in struggle. But we do say that revolutionaries should be aware of fragmentation. Indeed the working class has never been a totally homogeneous class. Capital's very nature precludes such a possibility this side of the revolution. Economic and ideological stratification flows from the division of labour. During moments of heightened class struggle there is a tendency for homogeneity to appear but this is neither inevitable nor automatic. This is the point where revolutionaries meet and influence the class struggle.

At the moment in Britain we are faced with a particular division in the working class which has manifested itself along fairly stark geographical lines. This is one of the reasons for the election result. We can't blithely ignore these differences or wish them away as the ICC do. Following and intervening in class struggle is only possible if we are aware of its material constituents.

Flett

SO YOU'RE THINKING ABOUT VOTING THIS ELECTION

You've been battered by the Tory government for eight long years now..... Eight years of wage cuts and redundancies; eight years of hospital closures and queues; eight years that have seen our housing deteriorate and no new housing built; eight years in which every section of the working class has felt the full weight of the capitalist state - the smashing of the miners' strike, the attacks on the teachers, the civil servants and the nurses. Eight years of increasing austerity.

SO YOU WANT TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT ! ! WHAT'S YOUR ANSWER THEN ? ?

VOTE LABOUR ? ?.....OH COME ON NOW. YOU CAN'T REALLY BE SERIOUS.

DON'T YOU REMEMBER THE LAST LABOUR GOVERNMENT ? ? ?

The wage freeze, the Social Contract, the doubling of unemployment, troops used to break the Tanker Drivers' strike, the Firemen's strike and the ambulance drivers' strike, the smashing of the Engineers' strike - and countless others.

SURELY YOU HAVEN'T FORGOTTEN ALL THAT ! !

When in power the policies of Labour and Tories differ only in details. Since both are representatives of the bosses who own this country they essentially have the same policy.
THEN AND NOW !

MAKE THE WORKERS PAY

MAKE THE WORKING CLASS PAY FOR THE CRISIS THEY GOT US INTO.

Cut the living standards of workers' families, throw as many onto the dole as is necessary to discipline us and make us accept starvation wages so that their rotten system survives.

DON'T BE A MUG ! DON'T VOTE FOR THE BOSSES !
DONT VOTE FOR ANY OF THEM !

START FIGHTING BACK !

In Spain, Russia, Yugoslavia, Mexico, France, Belgium, Turkey and elsewhere workers have been fighting back against the attacks of the state - Tory or Socialist - for the past year.

At this very moment...the miners and steelworkers of Yugoslavia are fighting back against the so-called 'communist' state there..the miners, steelworkers, railwaymen, textile and aircraft workers of Spain are using the MASS STRIKE to fight the wage-cuts being imposed by the 'Socialist' party in power there..in Turkey the telecommunications, tyre, textile engineering and rubber workers are fightin the military government's attacks on their living standards..in Mexico the electricity, telephone, airline and teaching workers are fighting their so-called 'socialist' bosses too. Last year and earlier this year there was a wave of strikes and workers' actions throughout Western Europe just as there was the year before in Denmark and elsewhere...and this very day in South Africa the workers are locked in struggle in the mines and townships against the brutal capitalist regime there.
THE LIST GOES ON AND ON.

SUCH STRUGGLES ARE THE ONLY WAY TO COMBAT THE AUSTERITY PLANS OF THE BOSSES.
ONLY WHEN THESE STRUGGLES LINK UP WILL A REAL ALTERNATIVE TO CAPITALIST DECAY BE SEEN.

And the Election...? Well, for the bosses its a fight amongst themselves about how best to screw the working class; how best to implement the programme of pauperisation they need to prop up their rotting system....For the workers its a gigantic charade, a pantomime, a media carnival to divert us into the polling booth and AWAY from our real, natural response to the attacks of the state...TO SAY

THE CRISIS IS OF YOUR MAKING NOT OURS - SO WE'RE NOT PAYING FOR IT !
What we need to do is to Start fighting back and to WIDEN that fight throughout our class.

ONLY OUR STRUGGLE AND THE STRUGGLES OF WORKERS INTERNATIONALLY CAN OFFER US ANY FUTURE.

STOP VOTING AND START FIGHTING !

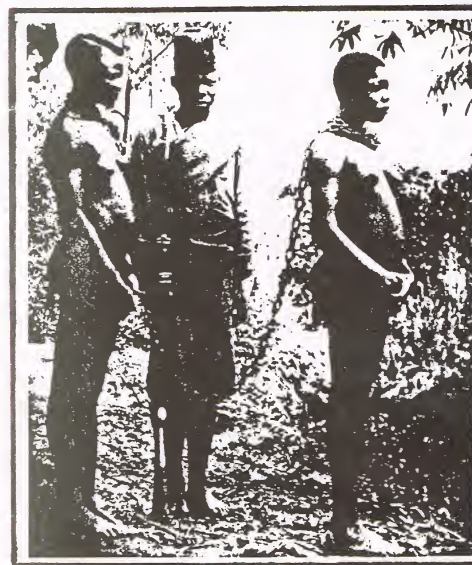
This leaflet is distributed by the Communist Bulletin Group. We can be contacted Box CBG
167 King Street Aberdeen. -

BARBIE ~ Just Another Capitalist Humanitarian.

What a bountiful system capitalism is. Just look around, even in the midst of crisis it manages to go on producing commodities at a rate too great for total consumption to keep pace with. Of course, the little matter of profitability "interferes" with the extent of consumption. Anyone can share in the material bounty of capitalism so long as it remains profitable. Historically the exploitation of the working class and the global expansion of capital has produced a level of wealth which far outstrips that of any previous social system. The drive for profit, as Maggie says, is very useful.

But capitalism's bounty stretches beyond, or more accurately encompasses, not only material wealth. It has also given the world Culture and Justice, key components in the ideology of exploitation.

Klaus Barbie's trial in Lyon is one example of how these two areas come together to demonstrate to the working class that capitalism is not only concerned with the cash nexus but also the finer things in life. His trial is a demonstration of the human face of capitalism. Barbie is charged with "crimes against humanity". No half-measures in this court. It is not a matter of accusing him of killing Jew A or worker B but of his role in attacking humanity. Such touching compassion. The bourgeois system has geared itself up for showing that it does care, that humanity not profit is the motivation of capitalism. But we are not fooled. Capitalism's only claim to representing humanity is the extent to which it has



Humanity in the Congo
Earlier this Century.

become globally dominant and imposed upon the world its imperatives. The point at which profitability ends is the terminus point of its humanity.

Klaus Barbie's fate does not concern us. If the bourgeoisie wants to consume this particular piece of vermin then so be it. Barbie is no friend of the working class. He was, and remains, part of a system which has lived upon the corpses of millions of human beings. German fascism was a particularly vile example of the capitalist phenomenon. Whether Barbie is jailed or not is neither here nor there. What concerns us about Judgement at Lyons is the way that this humane face of capitalist Justice is used as a cover for the historical and every day reality of the capitalist system. German fascism was a distinct moment in capital's history but it was far from being unique.

The very birth of capitalism was predicated upon genocide. When Spanish mercantile capital decided to look for gold in South America it found itself confronted by the indigenous peoples of that continent. The Inca in particular was a bit of a problem. Although in its own terms the Inca had been no slouch at conquering and exploiting other peoples it proved to be no match for the superior fire-power of the Spanish. Cortes was of the opinion that the Inca nation had to be destroyed. The fact that the Spanish were after gold was hidden behind the rhetoric of Catholic Christianity. Cortes saw the Inca as "barbarians lacking in reason and in knowledge of God". This might have been allowed to pass but for the little matter of securing profit for the Spanish mercantile bourgeoisie. Unfortunately for the Inca it stood in the way of Spanish power. It had to go. With God on their side the Spanish conquerors set about exterminating the Inca.

But for capitalism this was only a beginning, it had much greater triumphs to go onto. As the years rolled by, as capital accumulated the system warmed to its task. Human life, both metaphorically and literally was grist to its mill. Its end was profit. The way in which this was secured was of little consequence, except of course to those who were victims. It's true that a variety of theologians and philosophers set out a variety of guidelines for the conduct of life in both the commercial and the private worlds. But it's an apparently curious aspect of capitalism that irrespective of these sets of moral rules laid down by the good bourgeois philosophers, the system seems to always be spilling over into inhuman violence.

But this curious fact is only curious or a puzzle to those who cannot see the class nature of the capitalist system. Violence is endemic to it. It has been inflicted upon not only the "barbarians" in South America but also dished out to workers and others in the heartlands of capital. For example during the period which Marx called the Period of Primitive Accumulation the English bourgeoisie showed that it had no prejudice as far as attacking and destroying particular ways of life.

It was as happy to do this to English speakers as the Spanish were to do it to the Inca. Marx said that Primitive Accumulation was "written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire". Feudal ties were destroyed; labour was "freed"; a labour market was created, a prerequisite for the expansion of the capitalist system. On paper this process can be described as part of the History of Progress, the necessary accompaniment to a higher level of social development. But this was not capital's concern, its sole intent was the extraction of profit. To those who had to suffer the ravages of Primitive Accumulation abstract formulations about progress are of little help. The bourgeoisie's compassion did not extend to the dispossessed. As Marx wrote, "The expropriation of the immediate producers was accomplished with merciless Vandalism, and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the most nearly odious".

Undeniably the rapacious extension of capital did lead to higher levels of productivity and increasing material wealth. As the bourgeois creature grew ever more bloated so its appetite increased. At the same time the sophistication of its ideological structure developed. The same animal which had expropriated thousands of individuals found Enlightenment. But this intellectual flowering in the 18th century did not and could not alter the basic structure of the capitalist system. Indeed, the rationalism and the moderation of the century merged to produce a hybrid which became a cover for some of the worst moments inflicted by capital. The political economy of Adam Smith merged with the determinism of Malthus to give an ideological justification of the excesses of industrial capitalism. In the hands of men such as Samuel Smiles and Andrew Ure the triumph of industrial capital became the product of a natural law. Common sense and nature conspired to show that the factory master was a God given gift to mankind. And the master in his boundless generosity gave to the working class cities such as had never before been seen on earth. His humanity stalked the streets in the shape of filth, poverty and disease. The novels of Dickens and the illustrations of Gustave Dore have given us vivid descriptions of the bounty of capitalism. Men, women and children were just so many factors in capital's cycle of exploitation and accumulation. When Engels visited England in 1844 he fell into a world which both appalled him and opened his eyes:

"350,000 working people of Manchester and its environs live, almost all of them, in wretched, damp, filthy cottages, the streets which surround them are usually in the most miserable and filthy condition, laid out without the slightest reference to ventilation, with reference solely to the profit secured by the contractor".

Where life in the factories and the mines did not kill or maim workers, disease did. When cholera etc threatened to consume the bourgeoisie and undermine the profit system capital was forced to accept sanitary reform. But no matter how big the sewers built by the Victorian bourgeoisie they could never carry away the filth of the system. When and where necessary, and this was at times conditioned by the combativity of the working class, reforms could be granted. Unlike the Inca the working class was indispensable.

There were of course occasions when workers were so ungrateful as to fight against nature and tried to throw off the deadly humanity being dished

out by the bourgeoisie. Quite understandably this outraged the masters. Throughout the 19th century the full welter of capitalist compassion rained down upon the proletariat for daring to challenge the rights of profit. Perhaps best known, but by no means unique, is the Justice dealt out to workers in Paris in 1871 for setting up the Commune. Once again Justice was deadly: thousands were executed and Order was Restored. The bourgeois leaders Thiers and MacMahon were so overcome by their generosity of spirit that they wept. Thiers wrote,

"It was the joy of a happy convalescence on a spring day, and at that moment, I found the burden I had to bear less heavy". Slaughter, tears and joy are the stock in trade capitalist humanity.

Look at other moments in 19th century history and judge: the enslavement of negroes, genocide against American Indians, the Crimean War, the Scramble for Africa and so on. The list could be easily extended. But the point is obvious.

All this, however, was small-beer compared with what was about to be dealt out to the world. It's a moot point whether the emergence of decadence of capitalism actually increased the system's appetite for barbaric levels of violence. What is certain that the global nature of the system and the deepening of inter-imperialist rivalries forced it to look to its laurels. Henceforward, it had to have both weaponry and ideology capable of encompassing the world. At the same time the imperatives of statist conceptions emerged as a tendency towards totalitarian control of society. Direct and open force became a more or less



Vietnam: Humanitarianism
1960's style.

continuous part of daily life in the heartlands of capital.

The continuing Boer War heralded the beginning of the 20th century. The term concentration camp entered our language. The British bourgeoisie which had brought so much Justice to the world brought concentration camps to the Boers. British capital kept up its fine tradition of murder and oppression (Boer capital learned the lesson and now use it against its working class). Meanwhile the bourgeoisies of Japan and Russia were gearing up for their own little contribution to the good of humanity. There war proved to be a skirmish

in a larger one waiting in the wings. Germany and Britain were arming in preparation for a much larger helping of compassion being given to the world's workers. This burgeoning love for humanity could not be held back. It burst upon the earth in 1914. Hundreds of thousands of workers were drummed into the armies under the lie that they were fighting to defend civilization and yes, humanity. The bourgeoisie excelled itself, poison gas, tanks, machine guns and aerial bombardment helped to kill off more than eight million human beings. The system which had given mankind sophisticated theories of justice, humane literature, fine art etc tore the mask from its face and ground the working class into the mud of the battlefields of Europe.

Eventually thousands of workers had had enough of this capitalist humanity. They had real humanity to replace it with. In the act of revolution the working class projected a new humanity which was not based upon the exploitation of man by man. The Russian Revolution was an attempt to throw off the chains of murder and degradation which characterises the bourgeois system. But the courage and vision of the Russian working class was not enough to hold back the tide of capitalist barbarism. Defeat was followed by slaughter, as it had been in the previous century. This time, however, history took a particularly novel and vicious turn. The emergent regime in Russia took on, or at least inherited, the rhetoric of socialism. This could not hide the true nature of so-called Soviet Russia. It had, and has, all the classic hallmarks of the capitalist system most notably the willingness to use human life as the means to achieving the accumulation of capital.

Russia had to accumulate. It had no choice. It is somewhat of an historical irony that Preobrezhensky and other ideologues of the new capitalist state should coin the notion of a

period of "primitive socialist accumulation". Ironical indeed for capitalist Russia set about extracting surplus value from its proletariat in a way which would have brought forth cries of admiration from the ideologues of 19th century British capitalism. The Russian bourgeoisie's drive for profit was breathtaking: it literally took the breath away from millions. Collectivisation, forced labour, deportations, terror, the absolutely ruthless exploitation of the industrial working class was a reflection of the process which had typified the emergence of capitalism in Britain from the 15th to the 19th century. But Russia was doing this in the period of decadence. The Stalinist regime used the language of socialism to hide its reality. In much the same way that Smiles and Ure et al had shown the naturalness of industrial capitalism so Stalinism argued that Historical Inevitability meant that the brutality of the regime could be no other than it was. It was not only illegal to fight against it it was also unnatural.

At the same time that Stalin was dealing out his own particular brand of bourgeois humanity the rest of the world was experiencing the benefits of Depression. The economic contradictions of capitalism had thrown millions into the depths of poverty. The material bounty of capital was difficult to come by for those without work and with no cash. Of course misery was not in short supply this was a commodity the system could well afford to dish out with largesse.

In Germany the vision of Hitler was maturing. Aided by Klaus Barbie and other humanitarians of the German bourgeoisie Hitler set about smashing the working class, already virtually destroyed by earlier defeats. At the same time Nazism developed a particularly barbaric expression of class society: anti-semitism. Using a theory which was a hybrid scientific race philosophy and a mythical idea of the "volk" Hitler's Germany set



The Beneficiaries of Russian Capital's Collectivization.